

Message Text

SECRET

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T STATE 247591

FOR USCSCE

FOLLOWING REPEAT NATO 6052 SENT SECSTATE, DECEMBER 11TH:

QUOTE S E C R E T USNATO 6052

SECTO 021

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12/31/81

TAGS PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S NAC STATEMENT

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF NAC STATEMENT PRESENTED BY
SECRETARY KISSINGER AT AFTERNOON SESSION, DECEMBER 10.
PLEASE PASS TEXT TO WHITE HOUSE NOW. TEXT MAY BE
REPEATED TO NATO CAPITALS WEDNESDAY PM WASHINGTON
TIME.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. MR. CHAIRMAN, IT HAS BEEN CUSTOMARY FOR
SECRETARIES OF STATE TO DISCUSS A VARIETY OF ISSUES
OF CURRENT CONCERN. BUT I BELIEVE THAT THE STATE OF
THE ALLIANCE REQUIRES THAT I DEVOTE MY REMARKS TODAY
TO THE FUNDAMENTAL NATURE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP AND TO
THAT SUBJECT ALONE.

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2. LET ME SAY HERE, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT I OFTEN READ OF TITANIC STRUGGLES IN THIS ALLIANCE THAT HAVE NOT REALLY TAKEN PLACE. LET ME SAY THAT WE WILL BRIEF ONLY ON THE CONSTRUCTIVE PART OF THIS SPEECH, AND WILL SAY NOTHING ABOUT THE OPENING SECTIONS WHICH FRANKLY DESCRIBE OUR VIEW OF THAT HAS TRANSPIRED IN THE EARLIER MONTHS OF THIS YEAR.

3. THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE HAS BEEN THE CENTRAL FACT OF THE POSTWAR ERA, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE FORMAL WORDS OF THE TREATY BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THE SPIRIT AND COMMON INTERESTS THAT UNDERPIN THESE WORDS. THE ALLIANCE HAS PROVIDED THE ESSENTIAL SECURITY FRAMEWORK FOR AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE AND FOR WESTERN DEFENSE. AND IT HAS GIVEN US THE CONFIDENCE AND UNITY TO MOVE FROM CONFRONTATION TO NEGOTIATION IN RELATIONS WITH OUR ADVERSARIES.

4. FOR A QUARTER CENTURY THE UNITED STATES HAS REGULARLY RENEWED ITS COMMITMENT TO OUR CLOSEST AND OLDEST ALLIES. FROM THE FIRST DAYS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION WE HAVE TREATED TRANS-ATLANTIC UNITY AS THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. THAT IS WHY PRESIDENT NIXON'S FIRST TRIP ABROAD WAS TO EUROPE AND HIS FIRST STOP WAS HERE AT NATO HEADQUARTERS. AND THAT IS WHY HE HAS ASKED ME TO REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TODAY.

THE YEAR OF EUROPE

5. LAST APRIL THE UNITED STATES UNDERTOOK TO REAFFIRM THE POSITIVE VISION THAT EVEN MORE THAN THE NEED FOR COMMON DEFENSE HOLDS THE NATIONS OF THE WEST TOGETHER. JEAN MONNET ONCE OBSERVED ABOUT THE ALLIANCE THAT "THE INESCAPABLE FORCES WHICH ARE MOULDING THE FUTURE BIND US MORE CLOSELY THAN MEMORIES OF THE PAST." THAT CONVICTION SHAPES AMERICA'S DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

6. THE U.S. PROPOSALS OF LAST APRIL ANTICIPATED MANY OF OUR CURRENT DIFFICULTIES. WE WERE CONCERNED

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THAT MEMORIES OF PAST COOPERATION WERE FADING. WE FEARED THAT DIFFERING PERCEPTIONS OF THE FUTURE WERE DIVIDING THE ALLIANCE. THE UNITED STATES THEREFORE PROPOSED A COLLECTIVE EFFORT OF ATLANTIC RENEWAL AND REFORM.

-- THERE IS A NEW GENERATION ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC THAT HAS NO EXPERIENCE OF EITHER THE EXTERNAL

THREATS OR THE FEARS OF ABANDONMENT WHICH LED TO THE
FOUNDING OF THE ALLIANCE.

-- IN THE RECENT PAST, FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESS HAS
BECOME IDENTIFIED IN THE PUBLIC MIND WITH IMPROVING
RELATIONS WITH ADVERSARIES. RELATIONS WITH ALLIES,
ON THE OTHER HAND, HAVE INCREASINGLY BEEN CHARACTERIZED
BY PETTY QUARRELS AND DRIFT.

-- THE EMERGING CONDITION OF NUCLEAR PARITY
URGENTLY REQUIRES A RECONSIDERATION OF THE
NATURE OF OUR SECURITY AND THE MEANS OF OUR
COMMON DEFENSE. BUT THE POLITICAL WILL TO SUPPORT
EVEN PRESENT DEFENSE EFFORTS HAS BEEN DECLINING IN
ALL OUR COUNTRIES.

-- IN AN EVER MORE INTERDEPENDENT WORLD WE PARA-
DOXICALLY CONFRONT INCREASING PRESSURES FOR ECONOMIC
AUTARCHY AND POLITICAL DIFFERENTIATION. THREE
DECADES AFTER BRETTON WOODS WE LACK AND AGREED VIEW OR
COOPERATIVE MECHANISMS TO OVERCOME THE MALADJUST-
MENTS OF A NEW ECONOMIC ERA.

-- IN DETENTE POLICIES WE HAVE MOVED MORE RAPIDLY
INDIVIDUALLY THAN COLLECTIVELY. THIS HAS STRAINED
OUR UNITY JUST AS WE ARE FACING FUNDAMENTAL DECISIONS
IN CSCE, MBFR, SALT AND IN BILATERAL SUMMIT MEETINGS.

7. THUS DETENTE AND DOMESTIC REALITIES URGENTLY
REQUIRE AN ALLIANCE ORIGINALLY FOCUSED ON DEFENSE
TO DISCOVER A NEW SENSE OF DIRECTION. OUR PROPOSAL
FOR A "YEAR OF EUROPE" WAS AN APPEAL FOR SUCH A SEARCH.

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8. IN MAKING THIS PROPOSAL, WE CONCEIVED THAT THE
VERY PROCESS OF REDISCOVERING AND COMMITTING OURSELVES
TO OUR COMMON PRINCIPLES WOULD BRING US TOGETHER.
IT WAS INTENDED AS A POSITIVE RESPONSE TO EUROPEAN
FEARS WE HAD HEARD OVER THE YEARS:

UNQUOTE RUSH

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